A Contract with California • Sac Spectator: The Horcher Saga • Allison Brennan on Election Fraud

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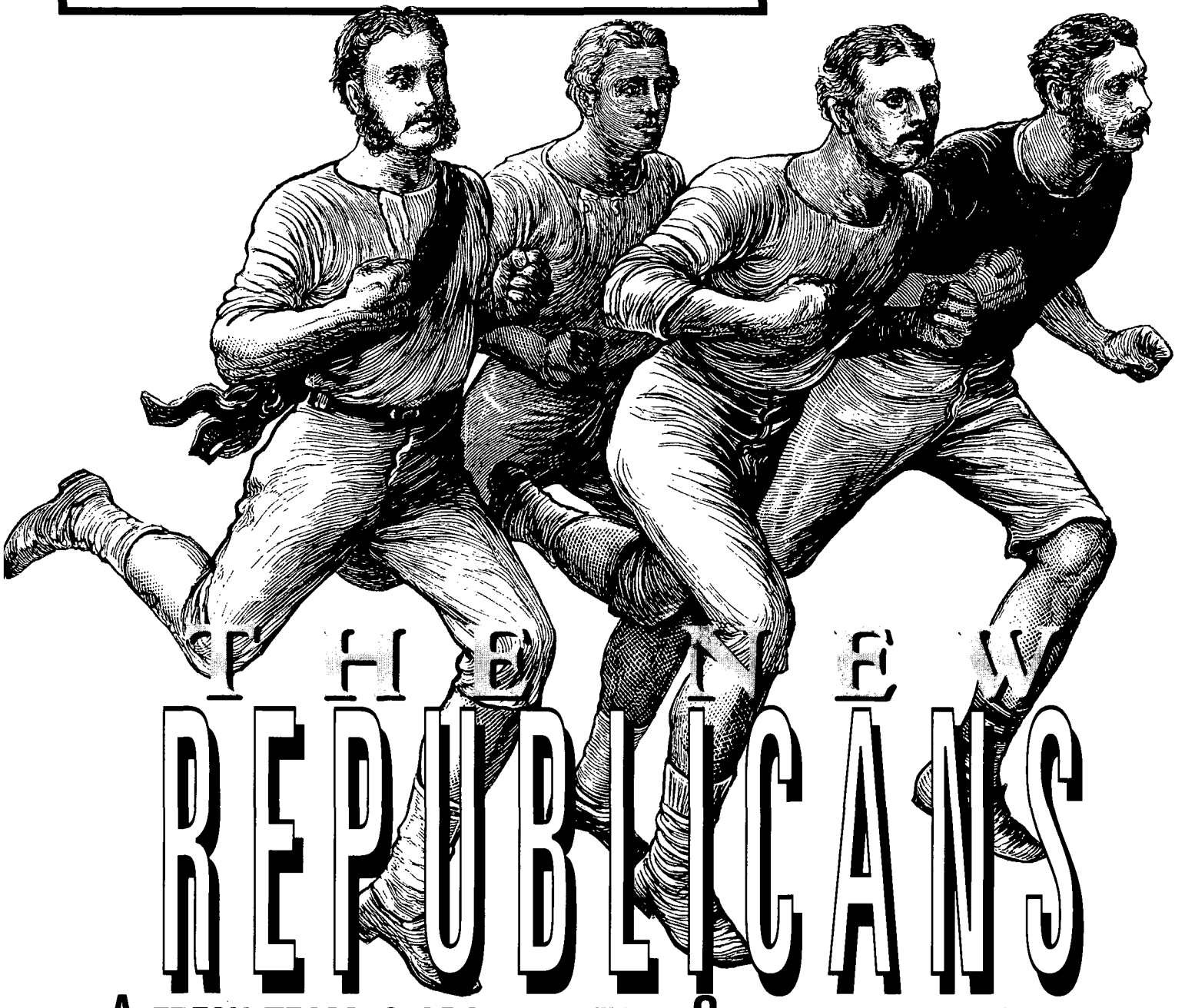

THE NEW REPUBLICANS

A FRESH TEAM IS ABOUT TO TAKE SACRAMENTO BY STORM.
A CLOSER LOOK AT THE NEW PLAYERS ON THE FIELD.

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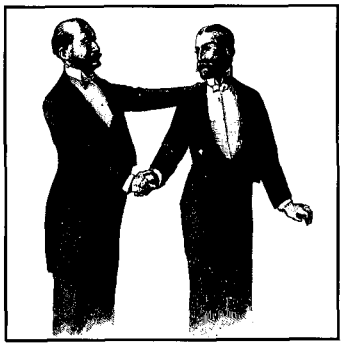
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CORRESPONDENCE

CAD OR CASSANOVA?

Editor:

California Political Review ("Pete Wilson: Cad or Cassanova?," *CPR*, Fall 1994) does well to present the arguments for and against a Governor Wilson vote. The case supporting a Wilson vote by conservatives, well stated by Robert Naylor and four others, is totally convincing.

The case against a Wilson vote, on the other hand, is essentially a review of Wilson's mistakes. It makes some valid points but leaves the main question unanswered: how would the conservative cause be served by a Wilson defeat?

From a conservative point of view, what, exactly, would be expected to be gained in another Democrat administration? It stretches the imagination.

Allowing for some exaggeration of degree, we might as well say that the United States should have joined in World War II on the Axis side because of the serious mistake Chamberlain made at Munich.

Stan Langland
Belmont

It is hardly necessary to allow for such preposterous degrees of exaggeration, since one need look no further than Congress and state capitols across America to see how disposing of a muddle-headed/liberal Republican chief executive and enduring a period of misrule by Democrats can serve the conservative cause. If anything is totally convincing, it is the evidence indicating that America is vastly better off from the re-establishment of clear political battle lines following George Bush's departure than would otherwise have been the case. Wilson's removal, I firmly believe, would have served the cause in exactly the same way. But — so what? Wilson was returned to office, so that debate is over. Now we must consider whether we Californians are better or worse off continuing to support him in his next career move: landing a Wilson spot on the GOP's 1996 national ticket. That's a debate for a future issue.

Editor

A SIMPLE COMMENDATION

Editor:

No sharp observations. No witty comments. Simply a commendation to you and your staff for your finest issue yet (Autumn 1994). Along with Matt Robinson's superbly redesigned cover, you have now achieved a look and feel of a "major magazine."

Congratulations on your success and best wishes for a prolific future.

Robert J. Etten
Roseville, Minnesota

Many thanks for your kind words.

Editor

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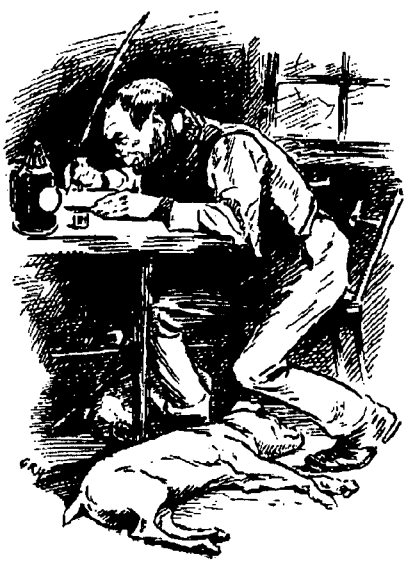
NOTEBOOK

Long-time conservative Republican activist **Shawn Steel** announced his candidacy for California Republican Party Treasurer, releasing a long, impressive list of endorsers including Congressmen **Chris Cox, Bob Dornan, Randy Cunningham, John Doolittle, Duncan Hunter, Wally Herger, Richard Pombo, Dana Rohrabacher,** and **Ed Royce.** Several legislators have also signed on, including **Jim Brulte,** as well as grass-roots activists such as California Republican Assembly President **Greg Hardcastle,** Christian Coalition California head **Sara Hardman,** and Orange County GOP Chairman **Tom Fuentes** ... Orange County's **Gil Ferguson** may have eliminated any chance of capturing vacant (formerly **Marian Bergeson's**) 35th state Senate seat by apparently prodding **Paul Horcher** to vote for **Willie Brown** for Speaker December 6. *Orange County Register* report quotes Horcher saying Ferguson advised him "under no circumstances" to trust GOP Leader and Speaker candidate Jim Brulte. Horcher said Ferguson told him that although he (Ferguson) "disagreed with the Speaker," Willie Brown was, at least, "honorable." L.A. Times reported "Ferguson acknowledges that he told Horcher to get the best deal he could get. He also said he doesn't blame Horcher ...." ... Assemblyman **Ross Johnson,** also eyeing the 35th S.D. seat, responded quickly, sending a hard-hitting, early January mail piece pinning Horcher's treason squarely on Ferguson.

In wake of investment fund collapse, furious Orange Countyans have begun arriving in droves at city council and school board meetings, demanding a full accounting of elected officials' financial dealings. A loose alliance of taxpayer advocacy groups from across the county (calling itself the **Committees of Correspondence**) has held several public meetings and news conferences, usually topping off the proceedings by burning in effigy supervisors, administrators,



or others. A Committee-inspired supervisor's "pledge" form, renouncing any resort to tax or rate increases, appeared in the *Orange County Register* and is now reportedly jamming supervisors' FAX machines ... **Greg Haskin,** Chris Cox's Orange County district representative, is scolding the media for its reverential treatment of toppled O.C. financial whiz **Robert L. Citron** during the campaign for county treasurer last spring. Haskin, who served on Citron challenger **John Moorlach's** campaign advisory committee, tells audiences how Moorlach and bond market professionals painstakingly determined the value of the Orange County Investment Pool, handing the media its findings: proof that OCIP had lost hundreds of millions of dollars even before the election, only to be greeted with yawns from reporters who quickly hurried off to interview Citron's wife about the nerviness of anyone who would run against her husband ... Haskin also points out that media coverage of the historic Sacramento battle over control of the Assembly consists little more than talk of spats between Republicans and rhapsodies on the "genius" of former-Speaker Willie Brown who is, after all, soon to be tossed out on his ear.

The **California Civil Rights Initiative** (CCRI) has exploded onto the media's consciousness following landslide passage of November's Proposition 187. National networks and major newspapers are suddenly focusing on the proposed ban on race, ethnic, and sex preferences ("affirmative action") in public contracting, public employment, and public education that is headed for the 1996 California ballot. The bandwagon was officially recognized by Governor **Pete Wilson,** whose endorsement of any proposal comes only *after* its popularity has reached run-away proportions. Ironically, the media, whose fixation on race obliterates all other considerations, is portraying CCRI as a sort of "Son of 187," even though many of its most prominent backers (**Ron Unz** in particular) were — and remain — vocal foes of the successful anti-welfare-for-illegals initiative. CPR

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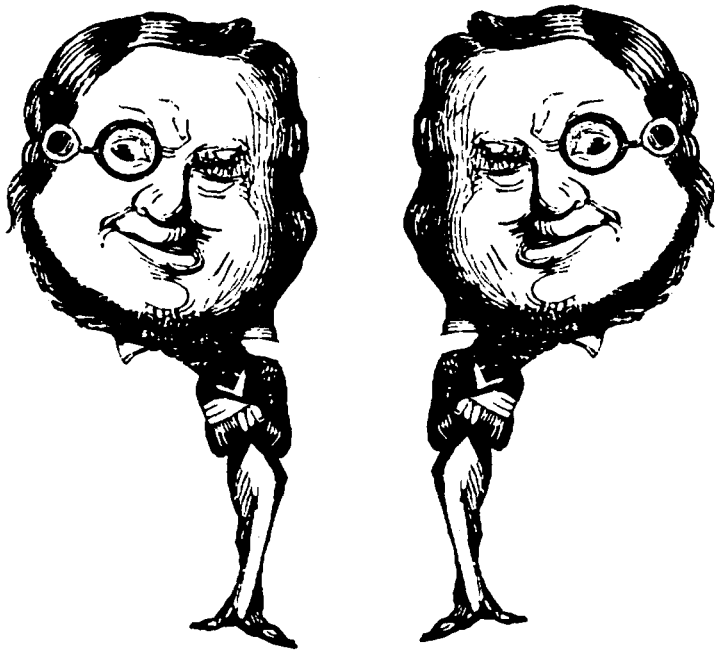
CAPITOL WATCH



Jeepers, Speakers

Republican unity appeared to hold in Assembly Speaker battle. As *CPR* went to press, the Assembly GOP caucus, led by Assemblyman Jim Brulte (R-Rancho Cucamonga), continued to reject Democrat proposals to end the six-week-old, stalemated speakership battle in Sacramento. Various division-of-power proposals have been floated by both sides, but the sticking point appeared to be the Democrats' insistence that any agreement last for the entire current two-year legislative session and that it reflect the Assembly's current even split between 40 Republicans and 39 Democrats plus Assemblyman Paul Horcher (I — formerly R — Diamond Bar). In effect, agreeing to Democrats' demands could nullify the outcome of any recall elections (especially Horcher's, expected in April) that might restore a 41-vote GOP majority and effective Republican control of the lower house.

Brulte has rejected any such agreement on grounds it would amount to a repudiation of November's popular vote that sent a GOP majority to the Assembly. Horcher's abrupt December 6 repudiation of his Party and his vote to retain Willie Brown as Speaker created the current 40-to-40 Assembly impasse.

Assemblyman Bernie Richter (R-Chico) "stood down" from his maverick Speaker candidacy. Sources in Richter's office said some 10 to 12 Democrats demanded that Richter renounce the Horcher recall in return for their votes and that the Chico Republican refused to do so. He thus would have needed the votes of 10 or more Republicans to achieve the 41 votes necessary to replace Willie Brown. Unable to muster sufficient GOP support, Richter stood down January 17.

* * *

Horcher recall organizers claimed to have collected more than half the required 18,760 signatures to force a recall election in only the first two weeks of signature gathering. Despite heavy rain and cold weather, more than 1,000 volunteers took the field collecting signatures on recall petitions and Governor Pete Wilson sent a letter to the district (with petition enclosed) urging Horcher's recall. Once the signatures are certified, the governor can set an election date, possibly as early as April. On the same ballot, voters would name their choice to replace Horcher. If the recall passes, the replacement candidate with the most votes, whether or not a majority, wins. If a Republican takes the seat in this strongly GOP (and conservative

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SACRAMENTO SPECTATOR

Whew, it has been a busy couple of months for your *Spectator* what with so many dark and slimy goings on at which to *Spectate.* It's been a real whirlwind of swearing-in parties for new legislators, swank receptions, and general hob-nobbing at posh pleasure palaces where your *Spectator's* well-tuned ear can overhear tidbits definitely not meant to be overheard.

There are many fascinating tales to relate, but they all pale beside the ongoing saga of Assemblyman Paul Horcher. Horcher as you all know is the man who betrayed his constituents, his GOP Assembly colleagues, and (last but not least) his own self-professed beliefs by selling out to Willie Brown on the first crucial vote for Assembly Speaker.

Your *Spectator* has frequently been asked why Horcher would commit such an obvious act of political prostitution. The answer lies in the nature of the man himself, and brings to mind a favorite saying of one of your *Spectator's* mentors — "Never be surprised when a jackass brays or a snake hisses." In other words, people always eventually act in accordance with their basic nature. And few people can watch Paul Horcher in action and doubt that his fundamental nature is that of a politician always on the make, always on the lookout for a deal, always willing to sacrifice principle and honor in the pursuit of self-aggrandizement.

What frankly amazes many Capitol observers is that Horcher does so little to disguise his vanity. The old high school joke about the lady of questionable virtue who walks around with a mattress on her back comes to mind. If Horcher were a woman, the epithet "hinge heels" might seem appropriate. Many in the lobbyist community and most in the Democrat Party leadership have the

"easy mark" sign on Horcher, just as more adventurous high school boys knew which girls to ask out for a "good time."

Paul Horcher has "looking to have a good time" written all over him. His lack of legislative achievement is matched by his nearly perfect attendance record at lobbyist-sponsored receptions where the food and booze are free. Rumor has it that there is even an underground series of "Horcher stories" among bar managers who have the 2 a.m. "close up" shift. Paul Horcher has managed to become a walking advertisement not only for term limits but also for the return of Prohibition.

As with many such sad cases, it is impossible to embarrass Horcher by confronting him with his own contradictions and outright lies. During his unsuccessful special election campaign for state Senate in September, he attacked other candidates for being "too close" to Willie Brown. Two months later, Horcher shreds what is left of his honor and casts the deciding vote to keep Brown as Speaker. He sees no contradiction in this, or at least cannot bring himself to look at the log in his own eye before ranting about the mote in the eye of Assembly GOP Leader Jim Brulte.

But now Horcher finds himself in desperate straits. He is rightfully scorned by Republicans in the Capitol, from the governor through the rest of the GOP constitutional officers, and all members of the Assembly and state Senate. He is laughed at openly by his new-found Democrat friends, and savagely ridiculed by the lobbyist community. Who among them, after all, can trust a man willing to sell out constituents, campaign promises, and personal honor? As another old saying goes, there's no longer any debate about what Horcher is. The only question is: who is still willing to play his game?

The bottom line answer is that his own constituents will certainly not be willing to pay the price for being represented by a moral mutant like Paul Horcher. The recall election will be in April. To the polls, y.e sons and daughters of freedom!

— A.P.C

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Democrat) district, Brulte could have 41 Republicans within a few days of the recall election.

Horcher could resign, however, rather than stand for recall. It was unclear, depending upon the timing of such a resignation, what effects would results, but further delays would be possible.

* * *

Arcadia Republican Richard L. Mountjoy now occupies center stage. Mountjoy was both re-elected to the Assembly and elected to the state Senate November 8. He was sworn in as an Assemblyman December 6, intending to move on to the Senate immediately after casting his vote for Brulte's speakership. He remained an Assemblyman, however, following Horcher's defection to protect his Party's 40-vote even split status. He has stated publicly he will see to it that Willie Brown is not again elected Speaker, though Assembly Democrats have tried (so far without success) to have him expelled from the lower house on grounds that his Senate election disqualifies him to serve there.

At press time, the Senate's Democrat majority was preparing to pass a resolution requiring senators-elect to "take the constitutional oath of office no later than 30 calendar days from the date the Senate convenes for the regular session." This will force Mountjoy to choose either to remain in the Assembly, renouncing, in effect, his Senate seat, or move to the upper house, leaving 39 Republicans in the Assembly.

* * *

If Mountjoy remains in the Assembly, GOP chances of again reaching 41 seats following Horcher's recall appear reasonably good. Republicans could then elect one of their own as Speaker. Since state law requires 41 votes to depose a Speaker, Mountjoy (and other Republicans) would then be free to depart to run for other offices without endangering their Party's control of the Assembly. Mountjoy thus occupies a difficult position pitting his personal desire to move to the Senate against the benefits for his Party of his letting that seat — that he has already won — go, for the time being anyway. By the time you read this, he will probably have had to make his choice. CPR

THE LAW

The Problem With Lawyers

MARK S. PULLIAM

It is not news that lawyers are held in low esteem by the public-at-large. The common stereotype — not aided by the showmanship of the O.J. Simpson defense team — is that there are too many lawyers; they cost too much; they are unethical; and, in general, they are a miserable lot. The moral here is that not all stereotypes are wrong. The news is that many lawyers agree with the public's unflattering view of their profession.

A recent survey sponsored by the state Bar and conducted by the Institute for Civil Justice at the Rand Corporation found that 63 percent of California lawyers believe there are too many attorneys in California (more than 140,000 at present, and growing at the rate of around 6,000 per year); 43 percent believe attorneys' fees are too high; only 41 percent think the ethical standards of most lawyers are high; and only 52 percent would choose to become an attorney if given the choice to pick their career over again.

Mark S. Pulliam CPR's legal issues correspondent, is an attorney in private practice in San Diego.

There's more. The survey, reported in the November issue of the *California Bar Journal*, found that most lawyers share the public's disgust for ambulance-chasing personal injury lawyers like the ones who advertise on radio and TV. (The Pacific Research Institute has estimated that California attorneys spent approximately $103 million in 1993 advertising for clients.) More than half of California lawyers believe attorney advertising has contributed to a decline in attorney professionalism, and an amazing two-thirds agree that attorneys are compromising professionalism as a result of business and economic pressures.

One question not asked in the survey (which cost $46,000) is whether membership in the state Bar — to which all practicing lawyers are required by law to belong and to support with mandatory dues — should become voluntary. The Bar has obvious reasons for avoiding a poll on that question because few lawyers actively participate in Bar activities and most dislike the Bar's high cost, inefficiency, and political meddling. Although the survey did not ask the question, it allowed

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CALIFORNIA CHRONICLES

CAL LAWMAKERS DODGE PROP. 140

The California Legislature is asking Sacramento County Superior Court Judge James T. Ford to allow it to interpret for itself key provisions of Proposition 140 — a 1990 voter-approved initiative intended to cut the Legislature's budget. Pacific Legal Foundation, representing Proposition 140 chief sponsor Pete Schabarum, filed suit two years ago alleging that lawmakers are dodging the law's clear intent by ignoring, in their budget calculations, upwards of $50 million spent yearly by a major legislative agency, the Legislative Counsel Bureau (LCB). PLF answers that no one may legally ignore the Constitution's express provisions. Contact: Pacific Legal Foundation, 2700 Gateway Oaks Dr., Ste. 200, Sacramento, CA 95833, 916/641-8888.

WHAT ABOUT CALIFORNIA?

The December 1994 issue of the newsletter of the California Lincoln Clubs, Los Angeles, complains that while "our U.S. representatives are definitely doing us proud .... already proposing tax cuts, regulatory reform, term limits, and a balanced budget," at the state level: "zilch! Only backbiting, name-calling, speakership fights, recalls, and turf battles. Has anyone heard of any policy initiatives from our state legislative leaders? What about a 'Contract for California'?"

It is not, however, as if nothing is coming from Sacramento Republicans. Two days before Christmas, Governor Pete Wilson's office informed the state we were all giving the governor's 53 top political appointees an 8 percent pay raise January 1. Meanwhile, an announcement was deferred concerning how the state will repay $4 billion in short-term notes that Wilson borrowed last year to balance the current state budget. Contact: California Lincoln Clubs, Los Angeles, *Report,* Editor: Forest Tennant, P.O. Box 9156, Industry, CA 91715-1656, 818/919-7497.

California Chronicles welcomes information about conservative groups, publications and activities. News of liberal fraud, fatuousness, and foibles especially appreciated. Contact: Anne McFadden, P.O. Box 783, Santa Monica, CA 90406-0783

JUST SAY NO

Errol Smith's and Matt Ember's *101 Reasons Not to be a Liberal* is due out in February. The book is a "light-hearted and irreverent trek through some of the foibles, follies, and outrageous excesses of liberal thought and liberal social policy." Businessman and radio talk host Smith and TV writer/producer Ember provide brief, witty, thought-provoking support for those tempted, perhaps, to fall for trendy left politics. "Reason #81," for instance: "Because all of the 18 million Americans who listen to Rush Limbaugh can't be wrong." Contact: St. Clair René Publishing, Magic Mountain Parkway, Ste. 285, Valencia, CA 91355.

VINCE FOSTER PLOT THICKENS

Evidently touching a nerve, Joseph Farah's Western Journalism Center has been named in a $2 million libel suit filed by U.S. Park Police Officer Kevin Brian Fornshill. Fornshill alleges that a newspaper ad Farah's group sponsored defamed him by raising questions about a possible official cover-up following the July 1993 death of Vincent Foster, The ad asks: "Was It a Suicide?"

Farah expects the suit to be dismissed for lack of merit. To prevail, Fornshill would have to prove not only that the ad, based on a WJC-sponsored report on Foster by former *New York Post* reporter Christopher Ruddy, was both false and defamatory, but also that it was published with a "reckless disregard" for whether or not it was true. Farah is confident that Ruddy's report is true and that neither Fornshill nor the Clinton White House can produce evidence to refute it. Commenting on the suit, Ruddy's former boss, *Post* editor Ken Chandler, told *Editor & Publisher:* "The truth is, Chris Ruddy trod where others fear to tread. When you do that, you get criticism and scorn heaped upon you. When you're writing about something you can't get answers to, you have to keep pushing, and he did."

WJC is filing a suit of its own — against Willie Brown. The Center requested that the former Speaker's office provide it a list of sponsors of Brown's much-ballyhooed 1994 "Education Summit," suspecting the California Teachers Association might turn up prominently among them. State law requires that such information be provided within 10 days if requested, but Brown's office has balked. Contact: Western Journalism Center, P.O. Box 2450, Fair Oaks, CA 95628, 916/852-6300. CPR

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respondents to write in additional comments. Of the respondents making such comments, nearly one-third suggested that the state Bar be abolished. A typical comment: "The California state Bar is a joke. It should be voluntary. The dues are outrageous."

Ironically, the same factors that influence many attorneys' dissatisfaction with their profession also contribute to the public's poor image of lawyers. In an *American Lawyer* essay earlier this year, Loyola Law School Professor Emeritus Gideon Kanner opined that the grandiose agenda of an activist judiciary — to remedy all of society's ills — has made the enterprise of law overly-complex, confused, unpredictable, and politicized. Kanner asks, "What does all that have to do with the state of the legal profession?" He responds: "Unfortunately, a great deal. First of all, widespread uncertainty in the law erodes professional competence and lawyers' confidence in the quality of their work, and hence their morale. Worse, when case dispositions and result-orientation become dominant, the lawyer's craft becomes secondary. In time, misconduct is tolerated until it becomes the norm. In a professional equivalent of Gresham's law, we are witnessing a process where the bad displaces the good: The cavalier attitude that governs clients' causes is spreading to rules that govern lawyers' behavior as well." Until the rule of law is restored to our legal system, the legal profession will quite understandably be out of sorts. The wound, however, is self-inflicted. Lawyers (and judges), heal thyself.

California may be losing certain types of jobs, but it is gaining more lawyers at a rapid pace.

Another common stereotype, also recently confirmed, is that the group of suit-happy lawyers who represent clients on a "contingent fee" basis (meaning they recover a portion, usually 30-to-40 percent, of the settlement or judgment) are politically allied with the Democrat Party, and depend for their considerable economic success on the patronage of Sacramento pols such as Assembly Speaker Willie Brown. A few days before the November election, a San Diego plaintiff's lawyer (as they are usually called) sent a revealing mailing to all lawyers practicing in San Diego. The letter began with a mock future newspaper headline dated November 8, 1995, (reflecting the author's ignorance of the timing of general elections; presumably he meant 1996) announcing that "Sweeping Civil Justice Reforms Past [sic]; Lawyers Will Be Forced to Flee State." The fake horror story, supposedly written in the wake of the next election, recounted that the California Trial Lawyers Association had failed in its efforts to oppose the re-election of Pete Wilson in 1994, that "big business interests" and "right wing political groups" had placed on the ballot initiatives limiting contingent fees and adopting no-fault auto insurance reform, and that these initiatives were approved by the voters. In this CTLA nightmare, a triumphant Governor Wilson gloats "We have now driven the final nail in the trial lawyers' coffin. They no longer will be able to harass the medical industry, the insurance industry, or big business in California. Our communities are finally safe from the prosecution of frivolous lawsuits." As a result of this setback, the fictional newpaper article reports that "many lawyers have stated they will leave California."

Switching to the real message, the letter warns "Sound scary? [!] It should. Can it happen? Right now it is a probability. If it does, the lawyers who have led the opposition to such attacks for the last 30 years [i.e., the plaintiff's lawyers] will be out of business. Insurance defense business will dry up. Hourly lawyers in all fields will be the next offered up as sacrificial lambs." Think about it. A plaintiff's lawyer is appealing to the economic self-interest of all lawyers (after all, every lawsuit that is filed must be defended) in the hope of persuading them to maintain the status quo. The letter — written, remember, to all San Diego lawyers, not just plaintiff's lawyers — intones ominously that "your career depends [on this election]"; "the Republicans don't need initiatives to put us out of business if they control the Legislature and the governor's office"; "[i]f you don't vote for Democrats now, you may never have the chance to save your practice again"; and "I implore you to vote strictly Democrat for the purpose of protecting our right to practice law on behalf of our clients." I have confirmed that this letter was not intended as a practical joke. It was sent out in a sincere (albeit obviously heavy-handed and, one hopes, ineffective) effort to mobilize support for Kathleen Brown and other Democrats among members of the San Diego legal community.

The unwitting self-parody concludes: "If we win the governorship and maintain the Democratic majority in the Legislature, we then will have only initiatives to confront. If we lose the governorship, control of the Legislature, or both, begin looking for a new job." Sure, it's hyperbole, but the underlying message is accurate. California's civil justice system is a huge trough that feeds almost 20 percent of the entire

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nation's lawyers (and keeps them in tasselled Gucci loafers and Italian designer suits). Change the system to eliminate the economic incentive for bringing abusive lawsuits, and lawyers will flee the state. Let's make it happen. (For a more detailed analysis of what can be done, see my article "California's Crushing 'Tort Tax'," *CPR*, Fall 1993.)

Any doubts about whether California needs tort reform (which is a part of the U.S. House GOP's "Contract With America") were dispelled by a recent survey of jury verdicts in California wrongful discharge, sexual harassment, and employment discrimination cases. The average damage award in such cases in 1994 doubled (from 1993) to more than $875,000. The median award in 1994 was almost $500,000. In October, a Los Angeles jury awarded $89.5 million to two employees of Hughes Aircraft Company who were not even fired. Is it any wonder that Hughes, formerly the largest private sector employer in California, is busy moving many high-paying jobs to Arizona and other states?

California may be losing certain types of jobs, but it is gaining more lawyers at a rapid pace. Of those taking the July 1994 Bar exam, 63.2 percent passed, the highest rate since 1962. As a result, 4,459 more lawyers will soon join the dispirited ranks, a record crop, bringing the total number of California lawyers to more than 146,000.

Plaintiff's personal injury lawyers in California have a powerful political lobby, the CTLA. (According to a recent report by the American Tort Reform Association, trial lawyers in just three states, Alabama, Texas, and California, contributed $17.3 million to candidates for state office from January 1990 to June 1994, more than any other interest group in those states, and more than the Republican or Democrat National Committees contributed to all state and local candidates nationwide.) The term "trial lawyer" has developed such an unfavorable bouquet, however, that the Los Angeles Trial Lawyers Association, CTLA's sister organization, has changed its moniker to the more altruistic-sounding "Consumer Attorneys Association of Los Angeles." (About half of all California lawyers practice in Los Angeles.) Look for the statewide CTLA to follow suit as part of a public relations campaign to repair the mercenary image of personal injury lawyers. Nice try. You can run, but you can't hide.

The bottom line for the plaintiff's bar is this: CTLA-backed Kathleen Brown lost big. Civil justice reform proponent Pete Wilson breezed to victory and has appointed as his legal affairs secretary Dan Kolkey, a well-respected business litigator, to help fashion a package of second-term reform proposals. The Democrats lost control of the Assembly, though they retained control of the Senate, which means, best of all, Willie Brown, the CTLA's most powerful ally in Sacramento, has been dumped as Speaker. Serious tort reform, long anathema to the CTLA and blocked by a Democrat-controlled Legislature, may finally be possible. Stay tuned. CPR

CIVIL & BUSINESS LITIGATION

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VICTIMS & Other Headlines

BY TIM W. FERGUSON

Every election has a thousand stories and one can speculate why some don't get covered. The unfinished business from November's dustup consisted of the speakership tussle and the allegations of voter fraud. On the latter, reporters so dislike the Huffingtons and Harold Ezell that they were content to take the secretary of state's dismissal of ballot improprieties as the end of that story. Might somebody have walked one of the suspicious precincts to check, even assuming St. Dianne's victory margin was too large to reverse?

As Willie Brown overstayed his welcome, we read a lot about his wiles, but not too much about the nature of his empire — the way his office has been a hub for hundreds of staffers, lobbyists and press, as well as campaign donations to his fellow Democrats. The man is brilliant, yes, but the machinery is awesome as well. And then there's Paul Horcher, the turncoat who'd "rather die on my feet than on my knees." His clips never looked so good. But might there be another side to this patriot? Why not ask a few former aides? Why, among the half-dozen outliers in the Republican caucus, was he singled out for the cold shoulder?

In all of the to-do over Proposition 187, we might have hoped for some good analysis of the ethnic voting patterns in California in 1994. If any newspaper provided them, I missed it. (The *L.A. Times* buried most of its polling data inside a secondary section.)

There were lots of anecdotal stories, pre and post, about heightened Latino participation. Certainly the Southwest Voter Registration forces had been working to boost turnout for many months. But when the dust settled, the estimate was that Latinos were only 8 percent of the voters. Dan Walters' *Bee* column on the Thursday after noted that "Tuesday's electorate was pretty much what it has been for years." What of the Catholic Church's vocal stance — did it not matter to parishioners?

Tim W. Ferguson is California Political Review's *press critic.*

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On the margins, important shifts may have occurred. A CNN pollster told a Los Angeles radio program that some Asian-American nationalities, apparently motivated by Proposition 187, altered their usual Republican voting patterns and may have provided Dianne Feinstein with her margin of victory. Of course, that doesn't take account of how many votes Michael Huffington gained elsewhere because of the division on immigration (notwithstanding the nanny). But if Ron Unz's theory about ethnics turning against the GOP for generations is worthy of concern, we could sure benefit from data.

As for the 187 coverage generally, the word is hysterical. Some of the most noticeably negative stories in Southern California papers appeared under Latino bylines. Thus it was of interest to note the pronouncements of the National Association of Hispanic Journalists, one of a handful of grievance caucuses that has arisen in the trade over the last decade. The NAHJ will boycott the state with its conventions, which might not seem like much of a threat, except that when that group gets together with the black, Asian, and gay journalist groups at one of their "Unity" affairs, and attracts a lot of white editors seeking to hire the lot of them, you're talking about a genuine economic infusion.

Editor & Publisher magazine turned over space to Zita Arocha, "executive director" of the NAHJ, for a rant about how the members will be intimidated under the law. Arocha wrote, "As one Latino journalist, a reporter at the Los Angeles Times, told me: 'We are Latinos first and journalists second. I can change my name, but I can't cange the color of my skin.'"

That such a remark was made at Diversity Central is entirely believable. The Times was in an uproar after publisher Richard Schlosberg ordered an endorsement of Pete Wilson for governor. Deputy Editorial Page Editor Frank del Olmo took a few weeks off to cool off. Sixty staff members drew up the predictable protest letter over the editorial, prompting one old-school editor there reportedly to say they shouldn't be covering the subjects at issue. "Following that logic," Arocha wrote, "women reporters should be disqualified from writing about women's issues, and reporters who are Democrats from covering the Democratic National Convention." Tempting as that progression might be, it's not very logical, is it?

Why is the journalism fraternity, even those members without an ethnic link to the issue, so of one mind about immigration? Probably for the same reason it treats society's "victims" with respectful sympathy. Journalists think of themselves as cosmopolitan and tolerant, and react poorly to hicks, nativists, and others of narrow mind. Sometimes when bigotry is turned on those they associate with intolerance (conservative Christians, for instance) the media are unable to spot it. Occasionally, whether because of personal experiences or abject policy failures that journalists internalize, a group formerly accorded special regard (e.g., the "homeless") falls off the list. In this vein, movement is apparent now on the affirmative-action question, which should make coverage of the California Civil Rights Initiative an interesting study.

Back on the missed story theme: The significance of Tom McClintock's defeat was spelled out in the last *CPR Update*. The press paid surprisingly little attention to the race, given the intensity with which the public-employee interests fought McClintock. He managed to swing at least one surprise endorsement (the *San Jose Mercury*) but without enough free media, he couldn't match Kathleen Connell's TV barrage. The race was so far off the journalistic radar screens that it was difficult to find out on November 9 that McClintock's lead the night before had melted away. Few remarked that, apart from Dan Lungren, those Republicans who did win statewide office were of the party's "moderate" wing (some would argue about Matt Fong). No wonder California conservatives were a little less joyous than their brethren elsewhere.

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Voters may only have needed to know that Brown was a Brown, but they were starved for information about the judges.

The California Teachers Association's tentacles are practically everywhere, which the politically astute know but most voters don't. No newspaper saw fit to spell out just what CTA's role in this election was, although John Jacobs of the *Sacramento Bee* had an interesting follow-up on the union's *rapprochement* with some Republicans. Likewise, the totality of the public-sector union effort around the state was hard to appreciate unless you were watching closely in one of the competitive legislative districts. But in my area, the South Bay of Los Angeles County, the backing of statewide police and firefighters (and even some local units, which used to restrict themselves to municipal elections) was important — and Democrats such as Assemblywoman Debra Bowen and Senator Ralph Dills were the beneficiaries. The rank-and-file of these organizations would probably be surprised to know they were financing the grip on power of Willie Brown and Bill Lockyer. But, then, if no one makes this clear, they will never know.

With the ballot choice limited to Delaine Eastin and Maureen DiMarco, no wonder 21.4 percent of those who went to the polls skipped the race for school superintendent. There was a registered write-in candidate (you wouldn't know unless you asked), but he only got 20 votes in the whole state. One of them was mine.

It was a long campaign by Kathleen Brown, continuing right through her "concession" speech, but I never read much about where the ideas came from and who exactly were her big backers, besides the unions and bond attorneys. (Stewart and Lynda Resnick of L.A., owners of the Teleflora flower delivery network and the Franklin Mint, were major contributors. Are they friends or what?)

Voters may only have needed to know that Brown was a Brown, but they were starved for information about the judges. "Hush falls over top judicial posts," headlined the *Sacramento Bee*. Aside from the ruckus over Rose Bird and the Supremes in the late 1980s, the electorate is in the dark about how appellate jurists have ruled or even which governor appointed them. As a result, they typically get confirmed easily. The "no" vote has grown along with general distrust of the judiciary, but still has rarely exceeded a third of those voting. This time, however, some Christian broadcasters began singling out targets, and several of the black robes pulled negatives of 42 to 45 percent (they weren't those with Hispanic surnames, by the way). Next time, maybe the secular media will join the act.

In response to my question last time, no one offered the name of a right-of-center columnist appearing outside of the editorial pages of a major California paper. Let us therefore infer there are none. Why might that be?

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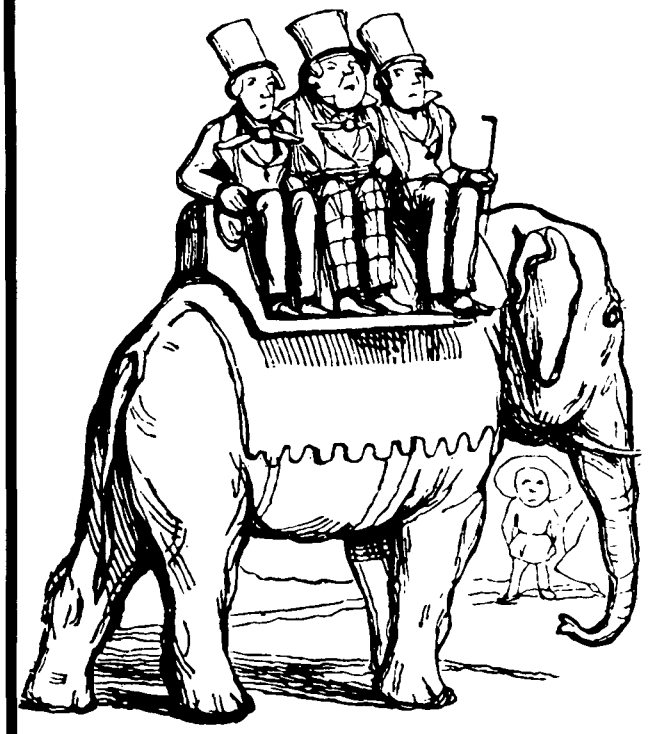

COVER STORY

The New Republicans

Jim Brulte's SECRET TO SUCCESS

ROBERT NAYLOR

In January 1987 when I was elected chairman of the California Republican Party, Jim Brulte applied for the executive director's job. He came strongly recommended by his mentor Tirso del Junco. I hired someone else, and Jim has thanked me ever since. I may have done Jim a favor by not diverting him from a much more productive career, but I did not do the Party organization a favor, because Jim Brulte turns out to be one of the most effective political operatives — not to mention legislative leaders (more later) — in recent California history.

Brulte's 18-month-old political organization proved nothing short of brilliant, combining a little luck with a lot of skill, including sound tactics and the element of surprise, to gain the most Republican seats in political memory (picking up nine seats, including five held by incumbents, and losing only one Republican open seat). Brulte just plain outsmarted Willie Brown.

Brulte religiously followed a policy of adding targeted races only as he could fully afford them and arranged to borrow $600,000 from the California Republican Party to add still more targets at the end. He says, with some justification, that if he had had another million dollars, Republicans would have won 43 or 44 seats.

Perhaps most notable was the fate of Assemblywoman Margaret Snyder, who won an upset victory in 1992 in a conservative Modesto area seat. Brulte essentially acted throughout the summer and fall as though he had no intention of targeting the seat. It even appeared there was a public spat between the GOP candidate, George House, and Brulte's political staff. House did not appear a threat because he was having difficulty raising money on his own. Brulte truthfully had many other offensive and defensive targets, so that everyone could believe he had no intention of targeting Snyder. On Saturday, 10 days before the election, Brulte committed $200,000 to that race, taking advantage of the conservative tide sweeping the Central Valley, and ultimately elected House by 12 percentage points.

Jim Brulte's political victory was more than a function of campaign tactics. It would not have occurred if he had not

Robert Naylor was Republican leader of the California Assembly 1982-1984, and chairman of the California Republican Party, 1987-1989.

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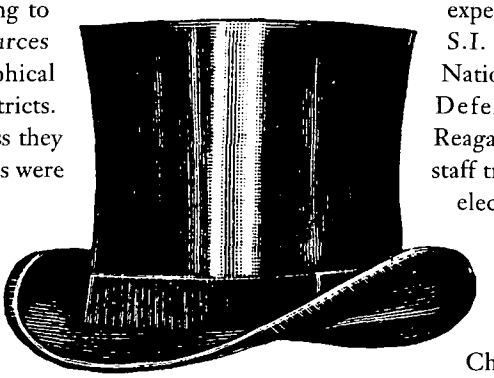
succeeded in doing something that no Republican leader had recently accomplished: getting the entire Republican caucus to work as a team. Unlike so many predecessors, Brulte was not plagued by substantial factions of the caucus publicly potshotting his efforts or refusing to support his program. Significant resources were not wasted on primaries. Philosophical litmus tests were not applied in any districts. Campaign funds were not promised unless they could be delivered. Large Republican gains were not bragged about in advance.



Brulte had unified the caucus by demonstrating in 1993 that significant accomplishments were possible when the caucus worked together with the governor on issues such as workers' compensation reform, business tax relief, regulatory reform, and budget issues.

Jim Brulte's success is not so mysterious. The key ingredients: he tries always to be helpful to members, even when he disagrees on an issue, gathering friendships and political chits for future battles. He is philosophically conservative enough to give the large majority of the caucus comfort, but he does not try to enforce ideological conformity. He has a wonderful sense of humor, is always accessible, is a quick study, and has developed a public speaking style that is both substantive and downright inspiring. And he lives, breathes, and works hard at politics all day, every day — and always has.

At age 38, Brulte already boasts 14 years of political experience — as a staff member to Senator S.I. Hayakawa and then the Republican National Committee in the early '80s; in the Defense Department under President Reagan; and with the White House Advance staff traveling with President Bush. Before his election to the Legislature in 1990, Brulte developed a grassroots political operation in San Bernardino County — working alternatively for the Republican Party and Assemblyman Chuck Bader — which was probably the best financed and most effective in the state.

Now, Brulte stands on the threshold of becoming Speaker of the Assembly. It is a daunting challenge, and Willie Brown's 30-year act is particularly hard to follow. But one has to be impressed with the way the Republican caucus has functioned — both policy-wise and politically — these past two years. Brulte's leadership skills are clearly formidable. Jim Brulte will be put to a very hard test, but I think he will surprise even his friends and certainly confound his enemies, whose numbers are likely to diminish with amazing speed. CPR

Fred Aguiar's Rising Star

By John J. Romero

Assemblyman Fred Aguiar (R-Ontario) was elected in 1992 to represent California's Ontario-area 61st Assembly district (adjacent to GOP Leader Jim Brulte's 63rd district), easily overcoming a small Democrat registration plurality. Last November he cruised to a 28-point second-term victory over Democrat Larry Silva. Aguiar's strong electoral showings, his intelligence, and his ambition make him a Republican rising star in the state Assembly. Also, Aguiar focuses on an issue gaining increasing momentum with Republican majorities in the new Congress: ending unfunded federal mandates laid on state and local governments.

As a former mayor and city councilman of the city of Chino, Aguiar knows from firsthand experience how difficult, and costly, dealing with unreasonable federal mandates has become. He has continued to track this issue as a member of the Assembly's Local Government committee. With Governor Pete Wilson and senior Republican lawmakers in Washington making a lot of noise about scaling back mandates (Motor Voter in particular,) Aguiar may find himself perfectly situated to play a key role in actually changing things for the better in this regard.

Besides being a politician, Aguiar is also a cattle rancher and dairy farmer, and so serves on the Assembly Agriculture Committee. Once Willie Brown and the Democrat losers finally move aside in Sacramento, Aguiar will be able to introduce a dose of reality into state government's dealings with the people of his heavily agricultural district.

Assemblyman Fred Aguiar is a fiscal and social conservative who believes in low taxes and low regulation. Despite that, he only recently became a Republican, fleeing a Democrat Party he saw moving ever more quickly to the left. Keep an eye on Fred Aguiar. He is among the leaders in the California Assembly's Republican class of 1995.

John J. Romero is the deputy communications director of the California Republican Party.

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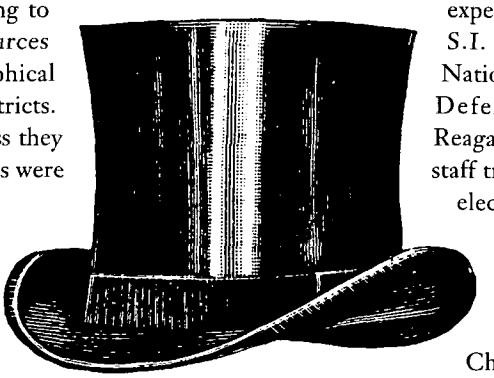

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THE ASSEMBLY'S #2 REPUBLICAN

Curt Pringle

AND A LOOK AT A FEW OF THE STAND OUTS IN THE GOP FRESHMAN CLASS

CHRISTOPHER SHELTON

One difference term limits has made to political mavens and pundits is to force them to look beyond the tired old faces that, until recently, usually monopolized California's political spotlight. For no matter how bright (or dull) the current "movers and shakers" might be, it is certain the fairly near future will see them swept away by a new group. This is true with the current GOP Assembly leadership. While all eyes now are focused on Jim Brulte (the people of California's clearly-expressed choice for Assembly Speaker), term limits insure he can serve there only until 1996. He must then leave the Assembly, and it is widely assumed he will go to the state Senate, possibly replacing Republican Senator Bill Leonard for whom term limits also mean moving on by '96.

Christopher Shelton is the pseudonymn of a long-time observer of California politics who contributes frequently to California Political Review.

The GOP's next rising star, then, is liable to be Brulte's current second in command and main confidant the last two years, Orange County Assemblyman Curt Pringle. Pringle served one term in the Assembly from 1988 to 1990, before losing a close re-election race to Tom Umberg. Umberg's sleaziness in his campaign against Pringle carried over to mark both his service in the Assembly and his failed 1992 race against Attorney General Dan Lungren. Few people in either party were sorry to see Umberg leave the Assembly.

One year after California's 1991 legislative redistricting, Pringle was elected to a newly-created Assembly seat with a large crop of Republican freshmen. Though technically a freshman himself, his previous experience made him a valuable member of the leadership team Brulte was putting together at the time. Since then, his ability as a tactician has earned him high marks from his GOP colleagues. Pringle brings real life experience running a family business to his politics, which are quite conservative. He has been an "activist" conservative in the past in ways Brulte has not, thus adding that dimension to Brulte's leadership team. And although he lacks Brulte's high-level Republican National Committee and White House experience, Pringle does have keen political instincts honed fighting Orange County's internal political wars. As a member of O.C.'s conservative coalition, Pringle played a key role in defeating the efforts of "big tent" Republicans (you know — the kind of folks who endorsed Bill Clinton in 1992) to water down the Party's core beliefs. Pringle's reward has been the standard media characterizations as "confrontational," "divisive," "narrow" — media*ese* for conservative elected officials who are principled, well read, and effective. Jim Brulte is lucky to have Curt Pringle at his side.

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And what of the Assembly's newly-elected Republicans?

The current GOP Assembly freshman class is outstanding by any measure. Largely drawn from the private sector, this is a group of no nonsense businessmen and women who have come to Sacramento to make a difference — and it won't be a difference the liberals will like. Virtually every freshman (except Orange County's Marilyn Brewer) is either conservative or very conservative. All of them (again except Brewer unless she changes her wacko liberal agenda) have the potential to make a huge impact in the Assembly and be future leaders.

That being said, I hate to single out any of them, for fear of slighting those not mentioned. But, meaning no offense to anyone (again, except for Marilyn Brewer, whom I devoutly hope will take offense), three of these new GOP Assemblymembers stand out as folks to watch.

San Diego's Steve Baldwin is a bundle of energy who rebounded after a bitter defeat two years ago to win election to California's lower house on his second try. Baldwin's '92 loss was widely cited by the media and GOP liberals as proof that conservatives were ruining the Party. Sacramento's political *cognoscenti* all "knew" Baldwin was too conservative to be elected. Har-de-har-har!

Before coming to the Assembly, Baldwin was the moving force behind a conservative takeover of the San Diego County Republican Central Committee, all of whose members had blanched at the thought of this young "radical" ruining "their" Party ... not to mention never, ever being admitted to any of their private clubs!

Baldwin is an unflinching conservative capable of learning and advancing from setbacks, as his second-try win shows. He's certain to be routinely written off in the press as a wild-eyed fanatic (even though he sprinkles his debates with quotes from *The Federalist Papers* or Cicero). But, like Tom McClintock, another one-time "wildman" eventually recognized, here and there anyway, as among Sacramento's most formidable voices, Steve Baldwin's mark in the Capitol will be large.

This victory was won over the active hostility of local Wilsonites...

Tom Bordonaro replaced Andrea Seastrand (elected to Congress) representing California's central coast. Bordonaro is a businessman and conservative activist — who happens to travel through life in a wheel chair. Once you have spent any time with him, you realize the wheel chair is superfluous to Bordonaro. He comes to Sacramento as an articulate, pro-business conservative with strong Washington, D.C., connections. He disdains sympathy based on his condition, but can also deftly reference it in debate to help deflate liberals' hypocritical harping about their "concern" for "victims." Put him on the "he will make a difference and be fun to watch" list.

Chuck Poochigian replaced new Secretary of State Bill Jones in Jones's Fresno-area Assembly seat. While Jones's laid-back manner often hid his conservative beliefs (and his genuine niceness), Poochigian clearly has the desire, and the means, to be a force in the Assembly. He has stints in both the Deukmejian and Wilson administrations under his belt. He also has an exceptionally strong political base, one that allowed him to raise enough money to get himself elected and parcel out funds to other GOP candidates. Poochigian will be a strong voice for agriculture, and while he has not been an "activist" like Baldwin or Bordonaro, he brings to the Assembly a conservative belief system well grounded in the real world. He will be an important player in the new Legislature.

Also worthy of the watchful (and admiring) eyes of conservatives are two members who are technically "freshmen and a half" because of special elections. Barbara Alby was elected to a Sacramento suburban district in July 1993, while Jim Rogan was elected in his Glendale-based district in June 1994 to replace Pat Nolan (the conservative movement's political prisoner).

Both Alby and Rogan are rock-solid conservatives, and both have shown sparks of leadership potential. Alby had long been vilified by the Sacramento media as a "religious right zealot" because she had the effrontery actually to run against the late Assemblyman B.T. Collins. This at a time when Collins' sole *raison d'être* as a member of the Assembly was "to do whatever Governor Wilson tells me."

In an ironic twist worthy of a movie script, Alby was elected to replace Collins after his untimely death early in 1993. Instead of "Elmer Gantry in a dress" (Alby's own description of what

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her colleagues were expecting), the Assembly found Alby to be a hard working, amiable, results-oriented conservative. She made a huge mark during her first half term by successfully carrying the "Child Protection Act of 1994" for Attorney General Dan Lungren. This bill gives parents and others access to the confidential list of child molesters held by law enforcement. This bill — an anathema to liberals on its face — passed both houses on virtually unanimous votes due to Alby's legislative moxie. She promises more of the same for the current legislative session.

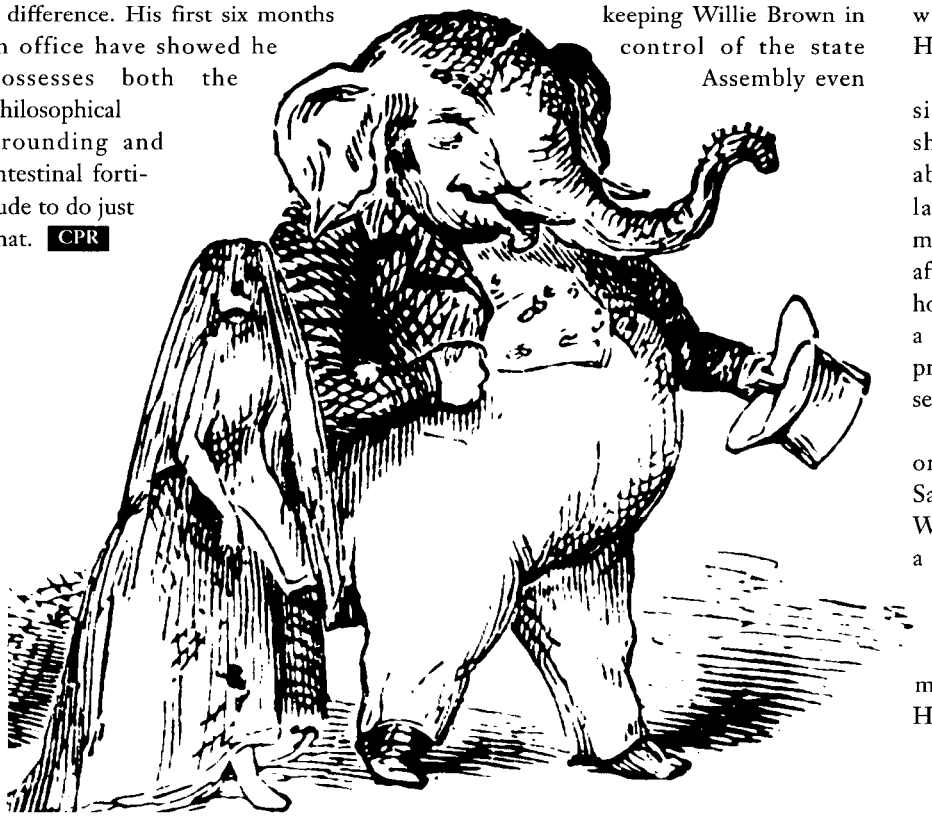
Jim Rogan resigned a lifetime tenured judgeship in order to keep Pat Nolan's Assembly seat in conservative hands. His personal background of hardship and poverty make him a difficult target for liberals to attack. Without a doubt one of the best-read and quickest studies in the Assembly, his verbal acuity and ability to put matters in historical context has led to comparisons with Newt Gingrich in that regard. He ran for the Assembly for only one reason: to make a difference. His first six months in office have showed he possesses both the philosophical grounding and intestinal fortitude to do just that. CPR

A TALE OF TWO BETRAYALS

A Fable Aimed at 1996

In 1991, the liberals and big spenders in Sacramento had California's taxpayers and middle class on the ropes. They were trying to ram through a reluctant Assembly an $8 billion tax increase — the largest state tax increase in American history. They were one vote short. They needed just one Republican to double-cross his constituents, betray his fellow GOP Assemblymembers, and disavow his recently-made campaign promises by voting for the tax increase. They finally found the one person willing to commit this act: Assemblyman Paul Horcher.

Fast forward to December 1994. Once again, the liberals and big spenders have California's middle class and taxpayers on the ropes. They are within one vote of keeping Willie Brown in control of the state Assembly even though the voters denied him and his Party that control last November. They needed just one Republican to double-cross his constituents, betray his fellow GOP Assemblymembers, and disavow his recently made campaign promises by voting for Willie Brown for Speaker. They finally found the one person willing to commit this act: Assemblyman Paul Horcher.



It is both ironic and instructive to observe the reaction of Governor Pete Wilson and his fellow "moderates" to these two Horcher episodes. The first involved Wilson's first-year budget. It was Pete Wilson who publicly threatened to "break arms and legs if necessary" to get Republicans to vote for it. It was Wilson who, during that battle, described conservatives as "f***ing irrelevant" Republicans.

And it was Pete Wilson who, after Horcher's betrayal in 1991, sent out a fund raising letter on Horcher's behalf. Its first sentence was: "Honor, integrity, courage — these three words sum up Assemblyman Paul Horcher" — signed, Pete Wilson.

Now, however, the governor is singing a different tune. He is shocked, *shocked*, to see Horcher abandon principle. But Horcher is largely a problem of Pete's own making. Had he not protected him after the sellout of 1991, in all likelihood he would have been defeated in a primary in 1992. But Wilson did protect him, so Willie Brown had a sellout available in 1994.

Shame on Paul Horcher for being one of the sleaziest politicians in Sacramento. But also shame on Pete Wilson for his willingness to use such a person for his own odious purposes in 1991 and then to protect this political scum in subsequent elections. Wilson's perfidy of 1991 most likely made possible Paul Horcher's perfidy in 1995.

— Christopher Shelton

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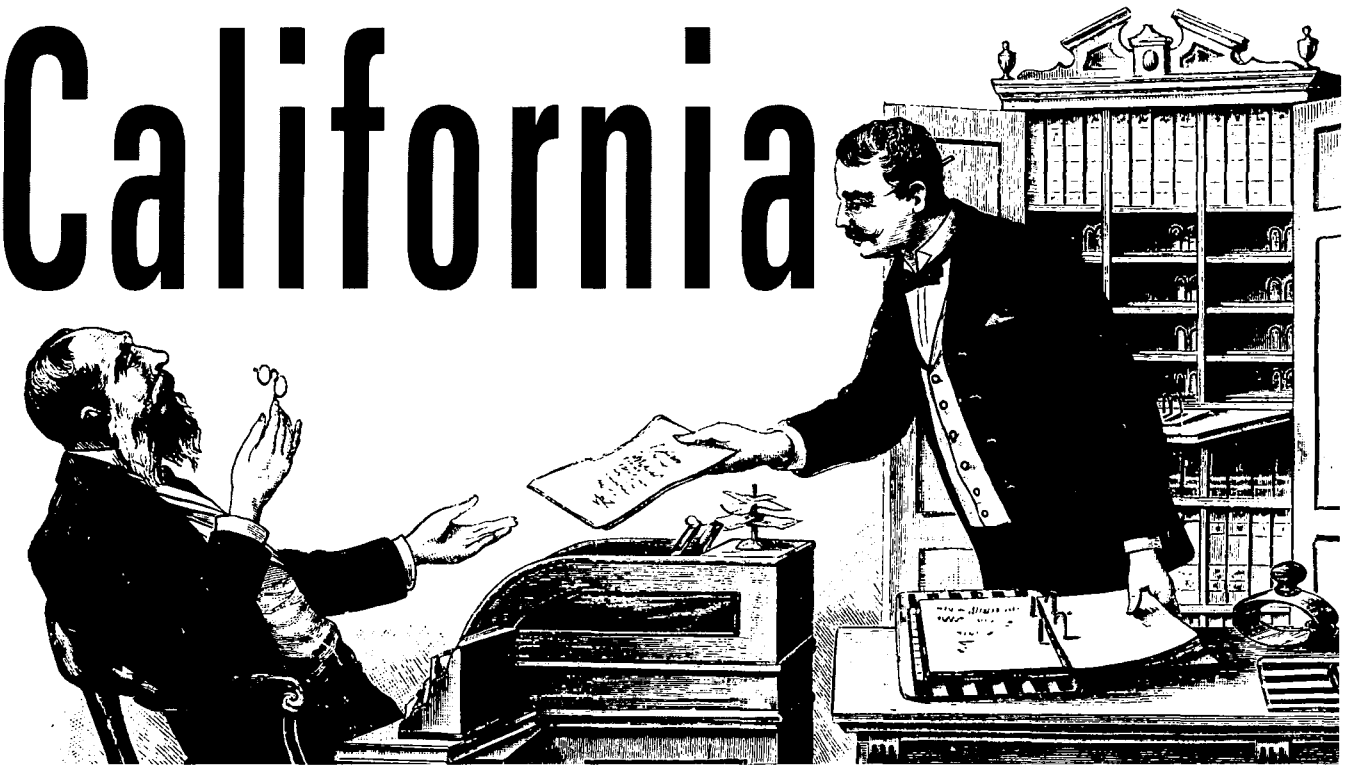
A Contract With California



[The Legislative Agenda Republicans Should Enact]

Notwithstanding the high-profile clashes over the Assembly Speakership, it is still true that questions of public policy remain the real business of California state government. With this in mind, we asked several prominent California conservatives to list 10 (or more, or fewer) steps Republican office holders should take in 1995, in order of importance, and then briefly to explain their recommendations.

Tom McClintock

Tom McClintock, 1994 Republican nominee for Controller, is director of Economic and Regulatory Affairs for The Claremont Institute's Golden State Project.

Assuming Republicans will soon recall Paul Horcher and finally establish the new Assembly majority which voters thought they had elected in November, GOP leaders will have an opportunity shamelessly to plagiarize the Newtonian reforms introduced in Congress and enter into their own contract with California. The moment a Republican takes the Assembly gavel, the new majority should act immediately to adopt a generation of pent-up reforms:

1. Forbid any further office remodeling at taxpayer expense;
2. Forbid the use of Assembly Sergeants as legislators' chauffeurs and personal errand-runners;
3. Discontinue the issuance of taxpayer-financed luxury cars for legislators;
4. Forbid the purchase of new furnishings;
5. Contract for an independent audit of legislative spending;
6. Abolish the use of "Calls of the House" which allow members to change their votes during roll calls and which allow members to return to the floor or committee — sometimes hours after the debate — to vote;
7. Strip the Speaker of his dictatorial power to make committee assignments and to determine floor seating, parking privileges, and every other perquisite in the house, restoring those powers to a democratically elected Rules Committee;
8. Require that all proposed regulatory acts include cost estimates to consumers;

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9. Return the offices of the Auditor General and the Legislative Analyst within the Legislature's spending ceiling as intended by Proposition 140 and cut legislative staff by one-third.

With that day's work done, Republicans should then put forward their own 100-day plan, bringing to the Assembly floor 10 bills to restore conservative principles to California government.

1. **The Fiscal Responsibility Act:** Require a balanced budget upon enactment — not merely upon introduction; restore the full intent of Article XVI of the Constitution which requires voter approval of any cumulative indebtedness of more than $300,000; restore the Gann Spending Limit and require a 3 percent budget reserve.

2. **The Taking Back our Classrooms Act:** Limit to 10 percent the portion of education funds that can be spent outside the classroom, eliminate county boards of education, and cut state and district education bureaucracies by one-third. Provide a tax credit for a family's education costs.

3. **The Getting our Money's Worth Act:** Eliminate California's bloated prevailing wage rates and require state services to be contracted out when the private sector can provide a better service at a lower cost;

4. **The Bureaucratic Liposuction Act:** Roll back the administrative budgets of all departments to last year's levels and appoint a Bureaucracy Closure Commission to identify and eliminate useless state agencies and overlapping jurisdiction;

5. **Personal Injury Compensation Reform Act:** Limit Workers' Compensation claims to clinically identifiable physical injuries, limit punitive damages, and cap attorney contingency fees;

6. **The Civil Rights Restoration Act:** Make the Constitution truly colorblind by repealing all racially discriminatory language and programs in current law;

7. **The Fair Tax and Spending Limitation Act:** Adopt Dr. Arthur Laffer's plan to replace California's Byzantine tax structure with a simple flat rate income tax and net-sales tax;

8. **The Citizen Legislature Act (Undo Unruh):** Return the California Legislature to a part-time body, as is the practice in the vast majority of states.

9. **The Local Government Independence Act:** Require any local government mandates to be pre-paid by the state, forbid future raids on local government funds, and require all local governments to be responsible for their own financial decisions (Orange County, you're on your own).

10. **The Property Rights Restoration Act:** Forbid the uncompensated taking of private property; and conduct a comprehensive audit of state regulations that have diminished the value of private property.

...the new majority should act immediately to adopt a generation of pent-up reforms...

Harold Johnson

Harold Johnson is an editorial writer for the Orange County Register and a contributing editor of NR West.

1. Cut the state's tax on capital gains.
2. Cut the state's tax on capital gains.
....
10. Cut the state's tax on capital gains.

Even if the federal government slices its own capital-gains tax from the current 28 percent to 17 percent or so, as many Republicans advocate, that would still leave Californians facing a capital-gains tax from the state of up to 11 percent. (Capital gains in California are taxed as ordinary income. That means they're subject to one of the most steeply progressive income taxes in the nation, a tax schedule Forbes magazine reports is higher, in terms of marginal rates, than the ferocious tax take in welfare-state Britain before Margaret Thatcher arrived there with the cavalry.)

We all know the arguments against a saber-toothed capital-gains levy. One of the most compelling is the stagnation effect: capital is frozen because of the high penalty for freeing up money from old investments for use in new investments. "Stagnation" describes many sectors of California's economy in recent years. Pulling teeth out of the state's bite on capital gains would be one way to help put a tiger back in our tank.

Wayne Johnson

Wayne Johnson is a Republican political consultant whose victorious 1994 clients included Senator Maurice Johannessen, Congressman Richard Pombo, and Assemblymen Bernie Richter, Tom Woods, and George House.

Republicans can win elections by opposing the muddle-headed and dangerous policies of Democrats. We've proven that. The question is: to what end do we seek electoral victory? Is it enough simply to stop Democrats from assaulting our families, businesses, and social values? To be sure, that is a battle worth fighting, but what if Republicans are in charge?

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Now, suddenly, we find ourselves tugged in three directions. We have Republicans who are perfectly willing to continue the government assault on our people, we have Republicans who want to dismantle the apparatus of government oppression and, finally, we have the smallest group which wants to develop a coherent Republican alternative to philosophical liberalism.

With a bare 40 members in each Assembly caucus, there are no votes to spare. Both sides are dealing, quite literally, with the lowest common denominator. The best we can hope for is to see the Assembly move away from that which has been most offensive to outside observers: the notion that the Legislature has become a sophisticated extortion ring playing one special interest off against another. We need to move debate on major issues from the committees to the floor.

We should insist that a limited number of issues be scheduled for full floor debate, with each caucus assigning various members to present the respective caucus positions on the floor. This would create a house that was more partisan, but less petty — and certainly less subject to the corruption of individual members.

Many do not realize that the old order is dead. Term limits means that two-thirds of the Assembly will usually be freshmen or sophomores. Long-term relationships among committee chairmen and lobbyists are a thing of the past and that means, practically speaking, the diffusion of power. The Party caucuses will eventually organize that power, but they can only do so by developing a philosophically coherent platform. That's what parties are. Without philosophy, they are not parties, they are gangs.

Steven Hayward

Steven Hayward is Research and Editorial director for the Pacific Research Institute, a San Francisco-based think tank.

There is, alas, no "Contract with California" that legislative Republicans can point to as a road map and mandate for this legislative session, but a California version of the Contract with America would surely include the following items:

• Reform of the California Environmental Quality Act (CEQA). This legal-procedural nightmare, which routinely produces delays of several years along with 1500-page Environmental Impact Reports that have little to do with environmental protection, is one of the chief obstacles to affordable housing and reasonable development. Its legitimate purpose — protecting sensitive environmental resources — can be accomplished more cheaply and quickly through some modest reforms including a criteria-based evaluation process, a higher threshold for projects that come under its purview, and limitations on third-party rights to tie up projects in endless litigation.

• Other regulatory reform. California should adopt strict cost-benefit guidelines for proposed regulations, and should further require that regulations be implemented in order of their cost-effectiveness — something regulators (especially air quality districts) often refuse to do because more costly regulations often generate higher fees for the regulatory agency.

• Adopt zero-based budgeting and abolish "current services budgeting," just like the Contract with America. In California, "current services budgeting" leads to as much fiscal flim-flamery as in Washington D.C.

• Tort reform. California is one of the most litigious states in the nation, with more than 800,000 civil suits filed each year. In addition to giving the "loser pays" idea a tryout, we should also place reasonable limits on class action suits and shareholder suits.

• Property rights protection. California should follow the lead of other states in requiring "takings implication assessments" on proposed laws and regulations, and should define a threshold beyond which property owners must automatically be compensated.

• Education. Short of a full-fledged school choice program, Republicans should at least be able to gain a majority in favor of lifting the cap on the number of charter schools that can be set up in the state. Bowing to teachers' union pressure, that number is presently restricted. Charter schools, essentially deregulated public schools, offer the best intermediate hope for educational reform ideas and competition to be tried out.

William D. Eggers

William D. Eggers is director of the Reason Foundation's Privatization Center in Los Angeles.

Do:

1. Cut income taxes by 15 percent.
2. Pass an ambitious welfare reform that includes: work requirements, reduced benefits, a time limit, family cap, and group homes for teenage mothers.
3. Remove legislative and constitutional barriers to state and local privatization.
4. Enact an Infrastructure Privatization measure.
5. Give top priority to Tom Campbell's education reform package.
6. Lift the cap on charter schools.
7. Finish the job on workers' comp reform (remove stress claims).
8. Reform environmental and land-use regulations.
9. Return to constitutional limits on spending and borrowing.
10. Rein-in asset forfeiture law.

Do Not:

1. Quibble among yourselves.
2. Shift costs to local governments.
3. Be "moderate" and "responsible."

For some time now California, long thought of as being on the cutting edge of public policy innovation, has represented the cutting edge of everything wrong with government: high taxes, crippling regulations, deadening bureaucracy, and a Legislature bent on maintaining the status quo and protecting

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the monopoly position of the state's powerful public employee unions.

In November, taxpayers said in no uncertain terms they wanted smaller, better government. California state government needs to be downsized. Governor Wilson and the Assembly Republicans should study the success that governors like Tommy Thompson, John Engler, and William Weld have had in cutting taxes, abolishing programs, privatizing services, and enacting bold welfare and education reforms. They succeeded because they were willing to take risks, stand firm on principle, and push the boundaries of what is considered politically acceptable.

Michael S. Fredenburg

Michael S. Fredenburg is executive director of the San Diego-based Adam Smith Institute.

An iron triangle of public employee unions, trial lawyers, and socialist/Democrat legislators dominates California politics, expanding the size of government, creating more public sector jobs, income for trial lawyers, and power for lawmakers. Ten steps to break this iron triangle would be:

1. Put a constitutional amendment on the ballot requiring that special assessments receive a 60 percent majority vote of the people. Since the passage of Proposition 13, local governments have used special assessment districts to levy billions of dollars in additional taxes from homeowners without a vote of the people.

2. Eliminate the state-mandated and state-run Workers' Compensation System and allow private companies to insure employers and employees. Private insurers and employers would come up with a fee structure far below that currently paid by employers and would be able to supply at least the same benefits.

3. Eliminate the state Department of Education, which has largely co-opted the power once reserved to local school boards, returning control to the local level. Soaring costs and falling academic performance can be linked to California's centralization of education policy and curriculum.

4. Eliminate CALTRANS as a primary vehicle for building and maintaining roads and bid out the work to private contractors on a competitive basis. This is a no brainer. It will save taxpayers millions every year.

5. End public funding for anti-smoking and anti-tobacco company ads. Smoking is legal. Maybe it shouldn't be, but that is another debate. Tobacco company executives are not criminals and their moral standing certainly cannot be judged by health department bureaucrats. The government's millions collected in "sin" taxes generated by tobacco sales add hypocricy to this campaign's reprehensible moral arrogance.

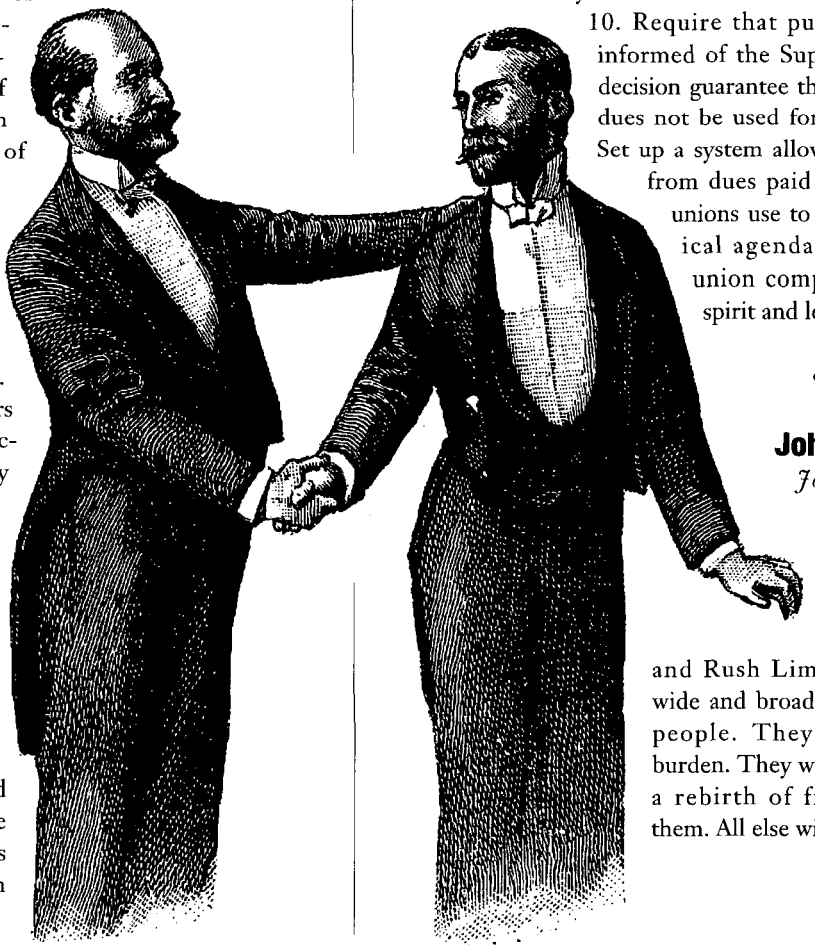
6. Take a hard line on state employee contract renegotiation to bring public employee salary and benefit packages down to comparable private sector levels. (This might be too generous. Considering the risk value of money, private sector workers' relative lack of job security should insure them higher remuneration.)

7. Comprehensively review all state regulatory agencies. Conservatively, half of them could be eliminated completely as redundant, unnecessary, or simply morally repugnant. Start with AQMD and the California Coastal Commission.

8. Following Montana's lead, tell the federal government to take a flying leap and increase some of California's rural speed limits to 80 mph.

9. Repeal the motorcycle helmet law and especially the bicycle helmet law.

10. Require that public employees be informed of the Supreme Court's Beck decision guarantee that mandatory union dues not be used for political purposes. Set up a system allowing easy deduction from dues paid of any portion the unions use to advance their political agenda. Closely moniter union compliance with Beck's spirit and letter.



John Kurzweil

John Kurzweil is editor of California Political Review.

1. through 10. Learn from Ronald Reagan and Rush Limbaugh — develop wide and broad support among the people. They bear liberalism's burden. They will benefit most from a rebirth of freedom. Mobilize them. All else will follow. CPR

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A Case of Mistaken Identity

ALLISON BRENNAN

Voter fraud has occupied the public spotlight since Michael Huffington launched his well-publicized investigation of election returns following his slim 165,000-vote loss to Dianne Feinstein. Unfortunately, as the Huffington case again demonstrated, voter *ballot* fraud is too rarely distinguished from voter *registration* fraud. Though obviously related, they are distinctly different concerns. For one thing, perhaps surprisingly, fraudulent registrations are not necessarily meant as a prelude to fraudulent voting. A variety of hefty monetary incentives exist to motivate registration fraud as an end in itself. A second critical difference is that voter ballot fraud is a felony, punishable by two to four years in prison and fines of up to $10,000. Voter registration fraud, in most cases, is a misdemeanor.

Why would anyone register bogus voters if not to stuff ballot boxes and turn elections? One reason: bounty — dollars paid to registration gatherers according to the number of registrations they collect. Both Democrat and Republican Parties rely heavily on bounty programs to increase registration, though for decades the Democrats have out-registered Republicans in nearly every Assembly district in the state.

Not only do rising registration numbers have a profound, beneficial psychological impact on volunteers and potential candidates, they are pure gold for fundraising. Democrats are past masters at wooing lobbyist and donor support by showing, for instance, that thousands of new 43rd A.D. Democrat registrations have changed what was, say, a 43 to 42 percent Republican registration advantage in the district into a 45 to 41 percent *Democrat* advantage. In the 43rd, which last year was virtually an open seat, such numbers generate real money. Still, as the 1994 election showed, pleasing registration numbers do not guarantee ballot box success. Unless these numbers eventually translate into votes, they may even hurt the Party they initially benefit by causing disasterous mis-allocation of funds and other resources.

Bounty has become a lucrative business. In 1994, paid gatherers could

Allison Brennan was Assemblyman James E. Rogan for Assembly campaign coordinator and is now a field representative for Assemblyman Rogan, who represents California's 43rd Assembly District.

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earn anywhere from $5-to-$10 for each Democrat registration plus an hourly wage and, in some instances, car mileage. Such rewards can appear enticing, particularly since the work seems easy, the pay comes weekly, and registrations can average anywhere from 5 to 20 or more per hour. This could mean up to $100 per hour. But anyone who has gone out to register voters knows that it often proves no easy task after all, particularly in no-growth or slow-growth areas like Glendale and Burbank. Is it so surprising that individuals whiling away long hours sitting behind an ironing board in front of Von's sometimes begin contemplating creative ways additional registration forms might be turned in? Who would know? It's not as though make-believe people would actually vote.

An early inkling that a voter registration problem existed in the Glendale-Burbank-area 43rd Assembly District (where I worked during Jim Rogan's re-election campaign last year) came from an exposé by Los Angeles television reporter Bill Gephardt on KCAL-TV, channel 9. Gephardt received a call from a Mr. McBeath of Burbank who informed him he had received at his home two voter registration confirmation cards — for Democrats. He had never heard of the Richard and Suzi Moreno whose cards had arrived at the house he has lived in with his family for nearly 20 years. Through interviews, Gephardt found other people who had also received cards either for people they didn't know or for themselves, though they swore they had neither registered nor re-registered to vote. One lady in the neighboring 44th A.D., shown a copy of the voter registration card she allegedly signed, denied the signature was hers.

The Rogan campaign took notice. Using a computerized voter-roll analysis system called VoteTech and a newly updated tape of registered voters, we identified all Democrats who had registered in the 43rd during the previous six months. After hours of pouring over printouts, we identified more than 1,000 suspected fraudulent registrations. The overwhelming majority were apparent duplicates: one individual registered to vote two or more times at one or more addresses *within the preceeding six months.* We alerted Los Angeles County Supervisor Mike Antonovich, since the Registrar's Office falls under the jurisdiction of the Board of Supervisors. Antonovich requested that the Registrar immediately suspend the duplicates and flag the individuals registered more than once to see if any attempted to *vote* more than once.

An apartment building in Burbank in which 133 of 167 residents registered in a single two week period.

Our examination of voter files produced lots of interesting information. For instance:

1. An apartment building in Burbank in which 133 of 167 residents registered in a single two week period. *Glendale News-Press* Editor Dan Bolton reported that one of the new registrants was three and another five years old; three were teen-age nephews of one resident; and two were illegal aliens. Our own investigation discovered a lady in one apartment who confirmed that she and her son had registered to vote, but who didn't know the two *other* people also registered at her address. We sent approximately 65 letters to the new registrants within *one month* of their registration dates. More than a dozen came back: about 20 percent bad mail, primarily "addressee not known." Calls to these people revealed phones disconnected or not in service. Two people paid by the Democrats' voter registration project listed their address on FPPC reports as that apartment building.

2. Thirteen people were registered to vote (with eight different surnames) at a single home in Pasadena. Of these, we determined two were likely duplicates and two others were paid "bounty hunters" registered at that house. "Kevin T. Mann," for example, was registered twice in 1994: once on April 15 and again on May 5. The forms listed their/his birthdays three days apart. Also "Edgar Arceneaux" and "Edgar D. Arceneaux" were "born" four months apart and registered two weeks apart.

3. At another house in Pasadena, three duplicate registrations were suspected: two "Albert L. Harris"es, an "Annie L. Harris" and an "Annie Harris," and both "Majadi" and "Malachi" Parrish. (Incidentally, "Majadi Parrish" was listed by the Assembly Democrat Voter Registration Project on its FPPC report as having been paid by the Project. Possibly Majadi is a twin of Malachi. The 21st Senate District — which consists of the 43rd and 44th A.D.s — seems to have a glut of twins.)

4. "Ian Arceneaus" and "Ian Arceneaux," born on nearly the same day, are both registered at one location, and one of them is registered again at another location for a total of three

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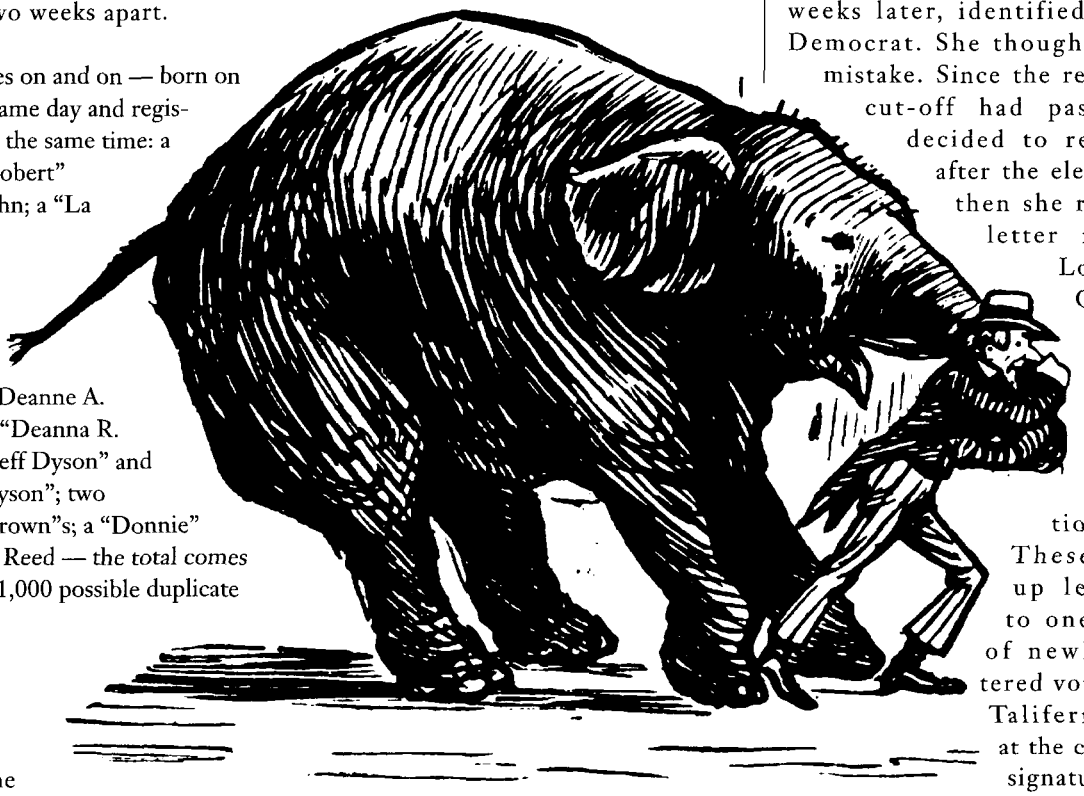
registrations. At a residence of one of these Ian's, registrations appeared for a "Chris Thomas" and for "Christopher Thomas," born one day apart and registered to vote three weeks apart.

5. At another house, "Anwar J. Abdus-Samad" and "Anwan A. Samad," born on the same day, registered two weeks apart.

The list goes on and on — born on or about the same day and registered at about the same time: a "Rob" and "Robert" Vaughn/Vanghn; a "La Verne" and "Laverne" Hunter; a "Fiamma" and "Franna" Barragalo; a "Deanne A. Gordon" and "Deanna R. Gordon"; a "Jeff Dyson" and "Jeffrey M. Dyson"; two "Michael S. Brown"s; a "Donnie" and "Ronnie" Reed — the total comes to more than 1,000 possible duplicate registrations.



The woman who registered the voters in the politically active Burbank apartment building told the *News-Press* she was told to register Democrats only and that they really didn't tell her much more. She said it seemed like a good way to make a little extra money. When confronted with the registrations of the 3- and 5-year-old children, she was aghast and claimed to know nothing about their having registered.

Some people are registered to vote twice, and not intentionally, and not even necessarily by registration bounty hunters: women who re-register after getting married may not be purged under their maiden name; people who move and re-register but neglect to put down that they were previously registered. Often data entry staff at the Registrar's Office are unable to read a person's handwriting and misspell the name. The person may then re-register under their correct spelling, but not be taken off under the incorrect spelling. I have personally seen hundreds of such errors.

But it is nonetheless true that large monetary incentives may be compelling otherwise honest people to engage in voter registration fraud. The Assembly Democrat Voter Registration Project, a controlled committee of Assemblyman Phil Isenberg, spent more than $750,000 paying bounty and other expenses associated with voter registration activities. With so much on the table, it would be surprising if some bounty hunters did not ask themselves, in effect: what harm, after all, does it do, as long as the phony registrants don't vote?

In any event, serious evidence of possibly massive corruption of the voter file is mounting daily. For instance, following media publicity about 21st Senate District voter registration irregularities, a woman and her husband contacted our office. The wife, Mrs. Taliferro, thinking that because she had not voted in the last election she had to re-register, did so in front of a grocery store. She and her husband have always been Republicans, but her confirmation card, which arrived in the mail a few weeks later, identified her as a Democrat. She thought it was a mistake. Since the registration cut-off had passed, she decided to re-register after the election. But then she received a letter from the Los Angeles County Registrar of Voters with a copy of her voter registration card. These follow-up letters go to one percent of newly registered voters. Mrs. Taliferro looked at the copy of her signature — and saw that it wasn't her signature. She also noticed that the affidavit number on the stub she'd received when she registered differed from the number on the card in the Registrar's files. The Los Angeles County District Attorney's Office is investigating.

One final example: Assemblyman Rogan's sister-in-law, after moving, re-registered in front of a grocery store as a Republican. The person registering her asked if she was married, and then told her she could register for her husband as well. That is illegal. A few weeks later they received confirmation cards listing them both as Democrats.

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One scarcely needs to wonder much about the impact of monetary incentive on voter registrations, especially when looking at, say, recent Democrat registration gains in Los Angeles' South Bay (more than 21,000 claimed), the Norwalk-area's 56th A.D. (more than 17,000 claimed); or the Central Coast (more than 13,000 claimed).

Still, if fraudulent registrations do not vote, what harm is done? Consider: every registered voter is sent a sample ballot and a voter pamphlet, plus supplement, printed and mailed at taxpayer expense. Registrar hours spent processing absentee ballots, returned mail, and the like, cost money. There's also the possibility for absentee ballot fraud, the easiest way to vote, or attempt to vote, illegally.

There *is* a bit of good news. It appears that of the bogus 21st Senate District registrations flagged by the Registrar, none attempted to vote under those names. This supports the proposition that *registration* fraud is not necessarily indicative of voter *ballot* fraud on election day.

Not that voter fraud never occurs. Compelling evidence suggests that it does. Because the vote count, for instance, in two November races (in the Los Angeles-area 54th Assembly and 36th Congressional districts) was very close, the ensuing absentee ballot count was watched carefully by Republicans and Democrats alike. Observers noticed a curious trend in the 36th C.D. On an average election day, when sealed ballot boxes are opened to allow the vote count, they typically contain five to ten absentee ballots turned in, perfectly legally, at the polling place that day. In the 36th C.D., however, Republican observers said many of the ballot boxes contained 20 to 30 absentee ballots. One box contained 54. Such improbably high totals strongly suggest actual *ballot* fraud.

What is to be done? Assemblyman Bill Hoge (R-Pasadena) has introduced legislation to curb voter fraud. Senator Quentin L. Kopp (I-South San Francisco) has introduced legislation that would purge from the voter file those who do not vote in two federal elections. And new Republican Secretary of State Bill Jones has indicated he would like to see a "positive" purge, removing anyone not voting in a presidential election from voter rolls.

Any proposals to remedy problems with California's voting process must take into account that registration fraud and actual voting fraud are in many ways separate problems requiring their own solutions. Mandating voter identification at the polling place, for instance, might diminish improper balloting but would not necessarily address the problem of fraudulent *registration*. Both concerns, however, urgently need attention — and soon.

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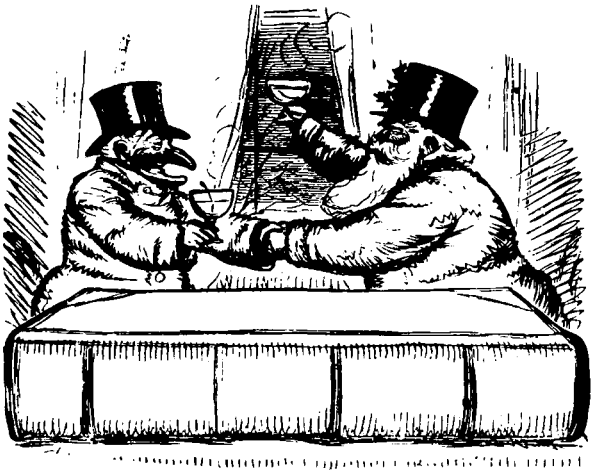

CRITICUS

No Contest

G. B. TENNYSON

Criticus has long since despaired of being able to induce any meaningful portion of the American public to take up the sport of literary competitions. These are the delightful pursuits featured in various *transaquapontine* journals and newspapers (and more rarely in *cisaquapontine* ones) inviting readers to contribute brief and usually comic pieces — poems, fictions, essays, or other written excursuses — on a set theme or following a set format. One might be invited, for example, to write a poem about some aspect of current affairs in the style, rhyme, and metre of "The Charge of the Light Brigade" ("Into the Valley of Death rode last year's Liberals"). Or one might be asked to write about a contemporary topic in the manner of a noted author, say, Dr. Johnson ("Sir, to answer your question about the proper deportment of a president, I tell you that if he would be respected, he must keep not only his wits about him but his trousers up") or Jane Austen ("It is a truth universally acknowledged that a First Lady who does not bake cookies must be in want of a warm oven"). Or to write advertising copy for some product ("Try the Joycelyn Elders Rubber Glove! Ideal for Tyro Teenagers. Later, Doubles as a Multiple Condom!"). Or — well, you get the idea. You can also imagine the look of pitying scorn that a feeble proposal to institute such a competition in these pages evoked from the jaded editor.

As it happens, my own taste leans rather more towards inadvertent humor. Not a joke about Joycelyn Elders but an appearance by the former Surgeon General herself, in full Admiralty regalia and full Baptist preacher delivery of her own lines ("we need saaaay-fer guns ayand saaaay-fer bullets"). Thereanent, there has long been a kind of unofficial competition for the tabloid newspaper headline that most completely captures the obsessions of the popular press. In Britain this must involve sex,

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religion, illness, and the royal family. A classic of the type is: "Pregnant Nun in Mercy Dash to Palace." In America I think such a headline must involve sex, money, race, and a film or sports celebrity. My offering would be: "Liz and O.J. Blackmailed with Photos of Torrid Prison Passion."

But, as Dr. Elders is our witness, life is such that we need not always make up our amusements. I have before me an advertisement for an actual book titled *Seasons of the Spirit*, which is innocuous enough, but it is subtitled *Meditations of a Jogging Nun*. Here is how the ad describes Sister Helena Marie's book: "The changing seasons, captured in beautiful color photographs, become the substance of spiritual reflection as the author records her thoughts during her daily jog through a New York City park." No, constant readers, I am not making this up. No mercy dash to palace equals the mental picture that flashed into my head upon reading this: a nun in full traditional habit, wimple awamble, dodging the in-line skaters and drug pushers in Central Park and meditating the while for fame and profit. I rather fear, however, that, if too successful, the jogging nun could end up like the singing one — remember "Dominique-a-nique-a-nique-a-nique" etc? — who dropped out of the convent, entered a lesbian marriage, failed to regain public favor with a new album, and committed suicide. But it wouldn't do to get one's hopes up.

Nor ought we when we have directly to hand, rather than by advertisement, a copy of *A Feminist Dictionary*, which wins the Criticus Prize for Morbidly Creative Neologism. This curiosity, compiled by two midwestern lady academicians, is self-described as a "unique source book that will serve as a valuable work of reference for many years to come."

It is indeed unique. All of its words and definitions are tendentiously politicized according to the lights of gender feminism and are often nothing more than quotes from the writings of foam-at-the-mouth feminists. Therefore it displays that obsession with sex and sexual organs that has become the red badge of courage for radical feminists, though it is all too cheaply won. For example, the editors contemplated calling this work by what they fancied would be the vulgar female equivalent of dictionary (or at least of the way dictionary is pronounced) but rested content merely to list the nonce word in the collection. Among the terms that can be printed here, a fair sampling is provided by this unbroken sequence: phallic identity, phallic morality, phallism, phallocentrism, phallocracy, phallogocentrism, phallologocentrism, phallopanacea, and phallus. Needless to say, none of these is positive, but the reader will be reassured to learn that phallologocentrism is being womanly (what else?) opposed by anti-phallo-theo-logocentrists, also known as vulval-ogocentrists. These would presumably be the women who give ovarimony, the feminist version of testimony, a word made necessary because of the abhorrent masculine etymology of the latter.

Well, Criticus finds this all pretty good fun and acknowledges as well that the author-compilers display now and again a sense of humor that is rare among the stern-faced sisterhood they are addressing, For example: "Adam.

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Mate of Eve, alleged father of two; an easily led male. History's first nonfunctioning head of household .... Ate the apple and attempted to pass on the blame." Of course, no such intentional levity is displayed in the definition offered for Eve, though it too is likely to raise a bit of a snicker in some readers: "The brave one in the biblical story .... the strong, courageous, innovative, curious, self-contained confident mate of Adam .... History's first dominant spouse .... powerful part of a couple of which the man is timid, anxious, passive" etc. This of the creature that Milton's fallen Adam called a "fair defect of Nature."

But humorous sallies aside, there is throughout this compilation an abiding sense of resentment merging into hatred. The definition offered for the term "white men," for example, throbs with malice: "It is true that not all white men are capitalists or possess extreme class privilege, but it is safe to assume that 99.44 percent of them are racists and sexists ..., Rapists, murderers, lynchers, and ordinary bigots ... exercise very real and violent power because of their white-male privilege." Would it be ungentlemanly to voice the suspicion that radical feminism has grown hysterical (a word much hated by feminists for reasons like unto their hatred of the word testimony, i.e. its wicked etymology) and will not rest until it has wholly reshaped culture? Given the growing dominance at all levels of education of women indoctrinated in feminist cant, this is not an unthinkable goal.

As we wait for the feminist millennium we can beguile the time with further literary competitions. There is always the one for the most boring book title. That usually goes to works with titles like *An Index of Disused Rabbit Warrens in Beaver County, Pennsylvania, 1930-1941.* And the contest for the most absurd book title, a recent and real entry for which was *What to Say When You Talk to Yourself.* Rising at once to this bait, Jaspistos, the competition setter for the *Spectator,* invited readers to submit an extract from such a work. Criticus's recommendation is that when you talk to yourself you refrain from quoting from *A Feminist Dictionary*, lest it unman you. Or for that matter, unwoman you. Either way, you lose. CPR

Contest Rules

In the interest of rescuing the faith of an otherwise despairing Criticus by demonstrating that, indeed, neither is the American public incapable of taking up delightful pursuits of the mind nor is CPR's editor quite so jaded as he suspects, California Political Review here announces:

The Willie Brown Question: A Literary Competition

Entries, covering no more than one standard 8.5 x 11-inch page, type-written, shall address the question: Willie Brown — The Phoenix-like Genius, as portrayed by the pillars of objectivity in the political press, or just another egocentric has-been who doesn't know when to quit?

Entries will be considered in three categories, with winners selected from each. First — Poetry: address the W.B. Question in the style, rhyme, and metre of Dylan Thomas's "Do Not Go Gentle into That Good Night."

Second — Short essay: plumb the quandary's depths in the manner either of William F. Buckley, Jr., preparing a column or, for those up for a real challenge, in the nonpareil mealy-mouthed, sleep-inducing, West-side liberal feel-good prose of a Los Angeles Times editorial!

Third — Political Campaign Ad Copy: sell either (a) the people on the W.B.-as-genius line or (b) the former speaker on the delights of leisurely retirement, anywhere but in Sacramento.

All entries must be received by April Fool's Day, 1995. Accent humor. Sole judge of all submissions will be Criticus, so address them to him as follows:

California Political Review's Willie Brown Question
Attention: G. B. Tennyson
P.O. Box 56671
Sherman Oaks, CA 91413-1671

If Professor Tennyson concludes the world is ready, winning entries will be printed in CPR's Summer issue. Now, to work! Rescue his faith! Show the world California's creative soul!

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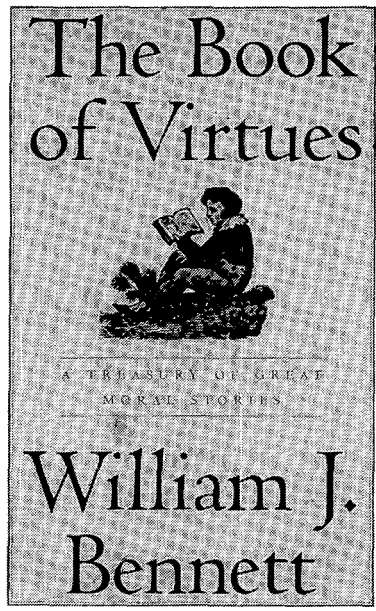

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